

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----102020Z 129065 /40

R 101120Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2374
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 2374

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH, NI
SUBJ: ANYOAKU ON RHODESIA

1. EMBASSY OFFICER SAW COMMONWEALTH ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL EMEKU ANYAOKU FEBRUARY 9. (ANYAOKU WAS COMMONWEALTH/NIGERIAN OBERSER AT THE GENEVA TALKS ON RHODESIA.) ANYAOKU AGREED THAT KAUNDA AND NYERERE NOW HAVE DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS ABOUT HOW BEST TO PROCEED IN THE RHODESIAN CRISIS. NYERERE FAVORS CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE ATIONALISTS; KAUNDA SAYS THE BRITISH ROLE IS BANKRUPT AND THAT AMERICA MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE. NYERERE RECOGNIZES SMITH AS A CONSTANT IN ANY SETTLEMENT FORMULA; KAUNDA SAYS SMITH MUST BE REMOVED.

2.ANYAOKU EXPLAINED THAT BOTH AFRICAN PRESIDENTS SHARE
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THE SAME OBJECTIVE BUT THAT TEIR APPROACHES ARE UNDERSTANDUILY DIFFERENT. THE ZAMBIAN IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WHATEVER AGREEMENT IS ACHIEVED. HE IS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT TERMS OR STRUCTURE. THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT HAS IMMEDIATE EFFECTS ON ZAMBIA (THE ZAPU CAMPS; THE MURDERS OF CHITEPO AND MOYO) AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF ANY SETTLEMENT WILL PRESS HEAVILY ON

THE POLITICS AND ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY. NYERERE, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MORE INTERESTED IN THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS ITSELF. HIS COUNTRY DOES NOT PAY A HIGH AND DAILY HUMAN PRICE FOR THE RHODESIAN CRISIS. HE BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP TALKS GOING AMONG AT LEAST SOME OF THE PARTIES, AND HE AIMS TO ISOLATE SMITH DIPLOMATICALLY.

3. ANYAOKU WAS ASKED TO EXPLAIN THE FRONT LINE DECISION TO EXTEND EXCLUSIVE RECOGNITION TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. HE REPLIED THAT THE WEST HAS CONSISTENTLY UNDERESTIMATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GUERRILLA FIGHTING. THE OBJECT IN RHODESIA IS NO LONGER TO REACH A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT BUT TO STOP A WAR. NEGOTIATIONS MUST NOW BE DEVOTED TO DISENGAGING TWO ARMIES AND TERMINATING A CONFLICT RATHER THAN ESTABLISHING A CLASSIC INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IT ONLY FOLLOWS THAT THE WARRING PARTIES SHOULD BE THE PRIME NEGOTIATORS AND THAT MANS, ON THE BLACK SIDE, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. ANY ROLE FOR MUZOREWA OR SITHOLE IN ESSENTIALLY MILITARY PEACE TAKS WOULD BE AN ACT OF GENEROSITY. EXPRESSIONS OF POPULAR POLITICAL SUPPORT, E.G., ELECTIONS, MUST COME AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POST-WAR GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE ASSURED BY INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND TH OAU.

4. ANYAOKU SAID A SECOND PURPOSE IN RECOGNIZING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS TO FORESTALL THE CHANCES OF CIVIL STRIFE IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING A SETTLEMENT. AS THE STRENGTH OF THE PATIOTIC FRONT BECAME MORE APPARENT, MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE SET OUT TO RAISE THEIR OWN ARMIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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ANYAOKU SAID. A PROLIFERATION OF PRIVATE ARMIES, EACH PURSUING ITS OWN GOALS, IS A RECIPE FOR ANOTHER ANGOLA. IN RECOGNIZING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THE PRESIDENTS EFFECTIVELY DENIED OUTSIDE BASES FOR THE CREATION OF NEW ARMIES.

5. COMMENT: WHILE THERE IS MUCH TO DISAGREE WITH IN WHAT ANYAOKU SAID, HIS EXPLANATION OF FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTIAL VIEWS IS AS CLEAR AS ANY WE HAVE HEARD. AND IT LIKELY REFLECTS THE DRIFT IN NIGERIAN THINKING ON RHODESIA.

ARMSTRONG

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, PRESIDENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 10-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LONDON02374
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770048-0646
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770255/aaaabwfq.tel
Line Count: 110
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 255674c8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3355909
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANYOAKU ON RHODESIA
TAGS: PFOR, RH, NI, TZ, ZA, (ANYAOKU, EMEKU)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/255674c8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009